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VI.—ON THE SOURCE OF THE ITALIAN AND ENGLISH IDIOMS MEANING 'TO TAKE TIME BY THE FORELOCK,' WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BOJARDO'S ORLANDO INNAMORATO, BOOK II, CANTOS VII-IX.

The central narrative in Bojardo's epic, the *Orlando Innamorato*, relates how the appearance of the beautiful Angelica at the court of Charlemagne completely turned the heads of all the noble paladins present, notably Orlando and Rinaldo. These two cousins and brothers-in-arms now become hated rivals, and set out in pursuit of the fair maiden when she returns to her native country. Much time passes before the two knights meet, and when this finally does occur, it is before Albracca, Angelica's castle, where she is besieged by another lover, Agricane, King of Tartary. The meeting is stormy, as was to be foreseen, and a duel is begun which lasts for two days, and which would have ended badly for Rinaldo had not Angelica, who just then is in love with him, held back the blow that would have wounded him mortally. She knows that Rinaldo is safe only if Orlando can be gotten out of the way, and to do this successfully she sends the latter on a perilous and distant expedition. Among the many adventures which he encounters on this journey is the destruction of an enchanted garden which had been fabricated by an enchantress named Falerina. Orlando's impulse is to slay her as well, but his mind is changed when he learns that her death would have as consequence the death of many knights and ladies who are kept prisoners in a tower. In exchange for her life she promises to lead him to that prison (ii-v, 1-24). When they arrive there Orlando sees hanging on a tree beyond the moat the armor of his cousin Rinaldo, and, believing him dead, remorse for his former quarrels with him seizes him, and he rushes over the bridge to engage battle with Aridano, the

guardian of the tower. The two antagonists clutch, and soon roll down the shore into the enchanted lake which surrounds the prison (ii-vii, 32-63). They descend through the water until they arrive on dry ground, a meadow, lighted up by the rays of the sun, that break through the water above them. Here the battle continues, until Orlando succeeds in slaying his enemy. Then he looks about him for a way of escape. He is surrounded on every side by mountainshore and rocks; but on one side he notices a door cut into the rock, and near that entrance he sees chiselled a picture of the labyrinth and its history with the minotaur, and not far from this another picture, showing a maiden wounded in the breast by a dart of love thrown by a youth. This should have taught him the manner of escape, but he passes on without heeding its meaning. Soon he arrives at a river and a narrow bridge, on either side of which stand two iron figures, armed. Beyond it in the plain is placed the treasure of the Fata Morgana. He attempts to cross this bridge, but at every trial the two iron figures demolish it, and a new bridge at once rises in the place of the old one. Finally, with a tremendous leap he clears the river, and now he finds himself near the coveted treasure. After many wonderful incidents, which it is not to the purpose to relate, he arrives near the prison where Rinaldo is held with other knights. This latter, it should be stated, had also left Angelica after his duel with Orlando, and arrived here by a shorter way. As Orlando approaches this prison, he comes to a fissure in the rock, into which he enters, and which leads him to a door. Its cornice bears the following inscription :

Sappi che quivi facile è l'entrata,
 Ma il risalir da poi non è leggiero,
 A cui non prende quella buona fata,
 Che sempre fugge intorno il piano e'l monte,
E dietro è calva, e' crin ha solo in fronte. (ii-viii, 39.)

The fearless count pays no attention to these words, and passes on. He comes to a flowery meadow, and soon he sees

a fountain and near it stretched in the grass lies the Fata Morgana, asleep.

Le sue fattezze riguardava il conte,
Per non svegliarla e sta tacitamente;
Lei tutti i crini avea sopra la fronte,
La faccia lieta mobile e ridente.
Sempre a fuggire avea le membra pronte,
Poca treccia di dietro, anzi niente;
Il vestimento candido e vermiglio
Che sempre scappa a cui gli dà di piglio.

Se tu non prendi chi ti giace avanti
Prima che la si svegli, o paladino,
Frusterai a'tuoi piedi ambe le piante
Seguendola per sassi e mal cammino,
E porterai fatiche e pene tante,
Prima che tu la tenghi per il crino,
Che sarai riputato un santo in terra,
Se in pace porterai sì grave guerra. (ii-viii, 43-44.)

This last ottava is spoken to Orlando while he stands looking at the sleeping Fata, and when he looks up, to see whence the voice came, he recognizes Dudone but a few steps from him and rushes up to greet him. A transparent wall, however, checks his progress, while at the same time it allows him to see the other prisoners, among whom he recognizes his cousin Rinaldo. He is on the point of breaking this wall with his sword, when a maiden tells him that entrance to the space beyond can only be gained through a gate, which is in sight, and to which Morgana holds the key.

Ma prima si farà tanto seguire,
Che ti parrebbe ogni pena men grave,
Che seguir quella fata nel deserto,
Con speranza fallace e dolor certo. (ii-viii-54.)

Now the count hastens back to seize the Fata by the hair, but he is too late.

Quivi trovò Morgana che con zogia
Danzava intorno e danzando cantava ;

Nè più leggier si move al vento foglia,
 Com'ella senza sosta si voltava,
 Mirando ora a la terra ed ora al sole,
 Ed al suo canto usava tal parole :

Qualunque cerca al mondo aver tesoro,
 O ver diletto, o segue onore e stato,
Ponga la mano a questa chioma d'oro,
Che io porto in fronte e lo farà beato :
 Ma quando ha il destro a far cotal lavoro,
 Non prenda indugio, chè 'l tempo passato
 Più non ritorna e non arriva mai,
 Ed io mi volto, e lui lascio con guai.

Così cantava d'intorno girando
 La bella fata a quella fresca fonte :
 Ma come giunto vide il conte Orlando,
 Subitamente rivoltò la fronte.
 Il prato e la fontana abbandonando,
 Prese il viaggio suo verso di un monte,
 Qual chiudea la valletta piccolina :
 Quivi fuggendo Morgana cammina.

Oltra quel monte Orlando la seguia,
 Chè al tutto di pigliarla è destinato,
 Ed, essendole dietro tuttavia,
 Si avvide in un deserto esser entrato,
 Chè strada non fu mai cotanto ria,
 Però che era sassosa in ogni lato,
 Ora alta or bassa è ne le sue confine,
 Piena di bronchi e di malvagie spine. (ii-viii, 57-60.)

A storm comes up and adds to the discomfort of our paladin.
 Here the canto ends.

The next canto opens with the following moralizing strophes :

Odite ed ascoltate il mio consiglio
 Voi che di corte seguite la traccia :
 Se a la ventura non date di piglio,
 Ella si turba e voltavi la faccia :
 Allor convien tenere alzato il ciglio,
 Nè si smarrir per fronte che minaccia,
 E chiudersi le orecchie al dir d'altrui,
 Servendo sempre e non guardare a cui.

A che da voi fortuna è biastemmata,
 Che la colpa è di lei, ma il danno è vostro.
 Il tempo avviene a noi solo una fiata,
 Come al presente nel mio dir vi mostro,
 Perchè essendo Morgana addormentata
 Presso a la fonte nel fiorito chiostro,
Non seppe Orlando al ciuffo dar di mano,
 Ed or la segue pel deserto invano.

Then Bojardo continues the narrative.

Con tanta pena e con fatiche tante,
 Che ad ogni passo convien che si sforza :
 La fata sempre fugge a lui davante,
 A le sue spalle il vento si rinforza,
 E la tempesta che sfronda le piante
 Giù diramando fin sotto la scorza :
 Fuggon le fiere e il mal tempo le caccia,
 E par che il ciel in pioggia si disfaccia.

Ne l'aspro monte, e nei valloni ombrosi
 Condotta è il conte in perigliosi passi :
 Calano rivi grossi e ruinosi,
 Tirano giù le ripe arbori e sassi,
 E per quei boschi oscuri e tenebrosi
 S'odono alti rumori e gran fracassi,
 Però che'l vento e'l tuono e la tempesta
 Da le radici schianta la foresta.

Pur segue Orlando e fortuna non cura,
 Chè prender vuol Morgana a la finita ;
 Ma sempre cresce sua disavventura.
 Ecco una dama di una grotta uscita
 Pallida in faccia e magra di figura,
 Che di color di terra era vestita,
 Prese un flagello in mano aspero e grosso,
 Battendo a sè le spalle e tutto il dosso.

Piangendo si battea quella tapina,
 Sì come fosse astretta per sentenza
 A flagellarsi da sera e mattina :
 Turbossi il conte a tal appariscenza,
 E domandò chi fosse la meschina :
 Ella rispose : Io son la Penitenza,
 D'ogni diletto e d'allegrezza cassa,
 E sempre seguo chi ventura lassa.

E però vengo a farti compagnia
Poichè lasciasti Morgana nel prato,
E quanto durerà la mala via,
Da me sarai battuto e flagellato,
Nè ti varrà l'ardire o vigoria
Se non sarai di pazienza armato.
Presto rispose il figlio di Milone,
La pazienza è pasto da poltrone:

Nè ti venga talento a farmi oltraggio,
Chè paziente non sarò di certo;
Se a me fai onta, a te farò dannaggio;
E se mi servi ancor n'avrai buon merto:
Dico di accompagnarmi nel viaggio
Dov'io cammino per questo deserto.
Così parlava Orlando, e pur Morgana
Da lui tuttavia fugge, e si allontana.

Onde lasciando mezzo il ragionare
Dietro a la fata si pone a seguire,
E nel suo cor si afferma a non mancare,
Sin che vinca la prova, o di morire;
Ma l'altra, di cui mo v'ebbi a contare
Qual per compagna s'ebbe a profferire,
S'accosta a lui con atti sì villani,
Che di cucina avrian cacciati i cani.

Perchè giungendo col flagello in mano
Sconciamente di dietro lo battia.
Forte turbossi il senator romano,
E con mal viso verso lei dicia:
Già non farai, ch'io sia tanto villano,
Ch'io tragga contra a te la spada mia
Ma se a la treccia ti dono di piglio,
Io ti trarrò di sopra al cielo un miglio.

La dama, come fuor di sentimento,
Nulla risponde, e dàgli un' altra volta;
Il conte, a lei voltato in mal talento,
Le mena un pugno a la sinistra gola;
Ma, come giunto avesse a mezzo il vento,
Ovver nel fumo o ne la nebbia folta,
Via passò il pugno per mezzo la testa,
D'un lato a l'altro, e cosa non l'arresta.

Ed a lei nuoce quel colpo niēte,
E sempre intorno il suo flagello mena;
Ben si stupisce il conte ne la mente,
E, ciò vedendo, non lo crede a pena:
Ma pur, sendo battuto e d'ira ardente,
Raddoppia pugni e calci con più lena.
Qui sua possanza e forza nulla vale,
Come pestasse l'acqua nel mortale.

Poi che buon pezzo ha combattuto invano
Con quella dama, che un 'ombra sembrava,
Lasciolla al fine il cavalier soprano,
Chè tuttavia Morgana se ne andava,
Onde prese a seguirla a mano a mano:
Ora quest' altra già non dimorava,
Ma col flagello intorno lo ribuffa:
Egli si volta e pur con lei s'azzuffa.

Ma come l'altra volta, il franco conte
Toccar non puote quella cosa vana,
Onde lasciolla ancora e per il monte
Si pose al tutto a seguitar Morgana;
Ma sempre dietro con oltraggio ed onte
Forte lo batte la dama villana:
Il conte, che ha provato il fatto a pieno,
Più non si volta, e va rodendo il freno.

Se a Dio piace, dicea, non al demonio
Ch'io abbia pazienza, ed io me l'abbia,
Ma siami tutto il mondo testimonio,
Che io la trangujo con sapor di rabbia.
Qual frenesia di mente o quale insonio
M'ha qua giuso condotto in questa gabbia?
Dove entrai io qua dentro, o come e quando?
Son fatto un altro, o sono ancor Orlando?

Così diceva, e con molta ruina
Sempre seguia Morgana il cavaliere:
Fiacca ogni bronco ed ogni mala spina,
E lascia dietro a sè largo il sentiero,
Ed a la fata molto si avvicina,
E già di averla presa è il suo pensiero,
Ma quel pensiero è ben fallace e vano,
Perocchè presa, ancor scampa di mano.

Oh, quante volte le dette di piglio
 Ora ne' panni ed or ne la persona,
 Ma il vestimento, chè bianco e vermiglio,
 Ne la speranza presto l'abbandona!
 Pur una volta rivolgendo il ciglio,
 Come Dio volse e la ventura buona,
 Volgendo il viso quella fata al conte.
Lui ben la prese al ciuffo de la fronte.

Allor cangiossi il tempo, e l'aria scura
 Divenne chiara, e il ciel tutto sereno,
 E l'aspro monte si fece pianura,
 E dove prima fu di spine pieno,
 Si coperse di fiori e di verdura;
 E'l flagellar de l'altra venne meno,
 La qual, con miglior viso che non suole,
 Verso del conte usava tal parole:

Attienti, cavaliere, a quella chioma,
 Che ne la mano hai volta di ventura,
 E guarda d'aggiustar sì ben la soma,
 Che la non caggia per mala misura.
 Quando costei par più quieta e doma,
 Allor del suo fuggire abbi paura,
 Chè ben resta gabbato chi le crede,
 Perchè fermezza in lei non è, nè fede.

Così parlò la dama scolorita,
 E dipartissi al fin del ragionare:
 A ritrovar sua grotta se n'è gita,
 Ove si batte e stassi a lamentare;
 Ma il conte Orlando l'altra avea gremita,
 Com' io vi dissi, e senza dimorare,
 Or con minaccie, or con parlar soave,
 De la prigion domanda a lei la chiave. (ii, ix, 1-20.)

The Fata is now forced to accede to the demands of Orlando, who, however, promises in return to leave her one of the prisoners, the young knight Ziliante, with whom the Fata pretends to have fallen in love. She hands him the silver key which is to open the door of the prison. Then they proceed, Orlando

*Tenendo al ciuffo tuttavia Morgana,
Verso il giardino al fin si fu inviato,
E traversando la campagna piana,
A l'alta porta fu presto arrivato. (ii-ix, 26.)*

The prisoners, with the exception of Ziliante, are all liberated, and Bojardo proceeds to tell the new adventures which soon befell them. Orlando, however, has not yet done with the Fata Morgana. With little foresight he had granted her wish and left Ziliante behind in her power. Now he has to return once more and liberate him as well. He easily finds the way to the fountain where he had met the Fata the first time.

*A questa fonte ancor stava Morgana,
E Ziliante avea resuscitato,
E tratto fuor di quella forma strana;
Più non è drago ed uomo è ritornato;
Ma pur, per tema ancor il giovenetto,
Parea smarrito alquanto ne l'aspetto.*

*La fata pettinava il damigello,
E spesso lo baciava con dolcezza :
Non fu mai dipintura di pennello,
Qual dimostrasse in se tanta vaghezza.
Tropo era Ziliante accorto e bello,
Che non pareva mortal la sua bellezza,
Leggiadro nel vestire e delicato,
E nel parlar cortese e costumato.*

*Però prendea la fata alto solaccio
Mirando come un specchio quel bel viso,
E così avendo il giovenetto in braccio,
Le sembra dimorar nel paradiso.
Standosi lieta e non temendo impaccio,
Orlando le arrivò sopra improvviso,
E come quel che l'aveva provata,
Non perse il tempo come a l'altra fiata.*

*Ma ne la giunta diè di mano al crino
Che sventilava biondo ne la fronte.
Allor la falsa, con viso volpino,
Con dolci guardi e con parole pronte,
Domanda perdonanza al paladino,*

Se mai dispetto gli avea fatto od onte,
 E per ogni fatica, in suo ristoro,
 Promette alte ricchezze e gran tesoro. (ii-xiii, 20-23.)

This time, however, Orlando turns a deaf ear to her entreaties; holding her by the hair with one hand, he leads Ziliante out of the garden, and then, before releasing his hold on her, he makes her swear, by Demogorgone, to whom every Fata is subject, that she will no longer be unfavorable to his projects.

E però il conte scongiurò la fata,
 Per quel Demogorgon, ch'è suo signore,
 La qual rimase tutta spaventata,
 E fece il giuramento in gran timore.
 Fuggì nel fondo, poi che fu lasciata. (ii-xiii, 29.)

The connection between this episode and the Italian expression *tener la fortuna pel ciuffo*, or *pel ciuffetto*, and its English equivalent *to take time by the forelock*, is so apparent, that it becomes a pertinent question to inquire into the sources of which Bojardo has made use.

The oldest occurrence in classical antiquity¹ of the notion, that the golden opportunity must be grasped when it first presents itself, lest, once missed, it escape, never to return, is in a statue by the famous Greek sculptor Lysippus, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. This statue represented the figure of *Καῖρός* (opportunity), and Nettleship and Sandys in their *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* call it the first occurrence of pure allegory in Greek art. The statue itself is lost, but we have a description of it by Callistratus, which was published by Dübner in Paris, 1849. I quote the pertinent passages from this description.

‘Ἐθέλω σοι καὶ τὸ Λυσίππου δημιουργήμα τῷ λόγῳ παραστήσαι, ὅπερ ἀγαλμάτων κάλλιστον ὁ δημιουργὸς τεχνησά-

¹ For the sake of completeness and convenience of reference I print here quite fully the descriptions in point from classical antiquity. A convenient summing up of the whole question may be found in Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums*, vol. ii, s. v. Kairos.

μενος Σικυνωίοις εἰς θεᾶν προῦθηκε. Καιρὸς ἦν εἰς ἄγαλμα τετυπωμένοι ἐκ χαλκοῦ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ἀμιλλωμένης τῆς τέχνης. Παῖς δὲ ἦν ὁ Καιρὸς ἡβῶν ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς πόδας ἐπανθῶν τὸ τῆς ἡβης ἄνθος. ἦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ὄψιν ὥραῖος σείων ἰονθον καὶ ζεφύρῳ τινάσσειν, πρὸς ὃ βούλοιτο, καταλείπων τὴν κόμην ἄνετον, τὴν τε χροάν εἶχεν ἀνθηρὰν τῇ λαμπηδόνι τοῦ σώματος τὰ ἄνθη δηλῶν. ἦν δὲ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐμφερὲς τὰ μὲν γὰρ μέτωπα χάρισιν ἔστιλβεν, αἱ παρειαὶ δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς ἄνθος ἐρευθόμεναι νεοτήσιον ὥραιζοντο ἐπιβάλλουσαι τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἄπαλον ἐρύθημα, εἰστήκει σὲ ἐπὶ τινος σφαίρας ἐπ’ ἄκρων τῶν ταρσῶν βεβηκὼς ἐπτερωμένος τὸ πόδε, ἐπεφύκει δὲ σὺ νενομισμένως ἢ θρίξ, ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν κόμη κατὰ τῶν ὀφρύων ἐφέρπουσα ταῖς παρειαῖς ἐπέσειε τὸν βόστρυχον, τὰ δὲ ὀπισθεν ἦν τοῦ Καιροῦ πλοκάμων ἐλεύθερα μόνην τὴν ἐκ γενέσεως βλάστην ἐπιφαίνοντα τῆς τριχός.

Then the description dwells on the great art shown in the statue and its life-like appearance, and finally the allegory is explained in the following manner :

‘καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμῖν θαῦμα τοιοῦτον ἦν, εἰς δέ τις τῶν περὶ τὰς τέχνας σοφῶν καὶ εἰδότων σὺν αἰσθήσει τεχνικωτέρᾳ τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν ἀνιχνεύειν θαύματα καὶ λογισμὸν ἐπήγε τῷ τεχνήματι, τὴν τοῦ καιροῦ δύναμιν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ σωζομένην ἐξηγούμενος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πτέρωμα τῶν ταρσῶν αἰνίττεσθαι τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ ὡς τὸν πολλὸν ἀνελίττων αἰὼνα φέρεται ταῖς ὥραις ἐποχούμενος, τὴν δὲ ἐπανθούσαν ὥραν, ὅτι πᾶν εὐκαιρον τὸ ὥραῖον καὶ μόνος κάλλους δημιουργὸς ὁ καιρός, τὸ δὲ ἀπηνθηκὸς ἅπαν ἔξω τῆς καιροῦ φύσεως, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου κόμην, ὅτι προσιόντος μὲν αὐτοῦ λαβέσθαι ῥάδιον, παρελθόντος δὲ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκμὴ συνεξέρχεται καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὀλιγορηθέντα λαβεῖν τὸν καιρόν.¹

¹ “I wish to bring before you also in a description the work of Lysippus, which as the finest of images this artist placed on exhibition before the inhabitants of Sicyon. It was *καιρός* fashioned into a statue of bronze, rivalling nature in art. *Καιρός* was a boy, blooming in the very flower of youth from head to foot; handsome in mien, his hair fluttering at the caprice of the wind, leaving his locks dishevelled; with rosy complexion,

We note the following characteristic features. The statue represents a youth, whose blond hair is falling over his forehead, while on the back of the head it is so short that it cannot be grasped. This figure stands on its toes on a sphere; its feet are winged.

But little later than this description of Callistratus is the following little epigram by Posidippus, published by Jacobs, *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. II, p. 49, No. XIII. Posidippus had evidently also seen the statue himself, and he furnishes us with some further particulars.

Τίς, πόθεν ὁ πλάστης; Σικυώνιος. ὄνομα δὴ τίς;
 Λύσιππος. σὺ δὲ, τίς; καιρός ὁ πανδαμάτωρ.
 τίπτε δ' ἐπ' ἄκρα βέβηκας; ἅει τροχάω. τὺ δὲ ταρσοῖς
 ποσσὶν ἔχεις διφυεῖς; ἴπταμ' ὑπηνέμιος.
 χεὶρὶ δὲ δεξιτερῇ τί φέρεις ξυρόν; ἀνδράσι δεῖγμα
 ὡς ἀκμῆς πάσης δξύτερος τελέθω.
 ἦ δὲ κόμη, τί κατ' ὕψιν; ὑπαντιάσαντι λαβέσθαι
 νῆ Δία. τὰξόπιθεν δ' εἰς τὴν φαλακρὰ πέλει;
 τὸν γὰρ ἅπαξ πτηνοῖσι παρὰ θρέξαντά με ποσσὶν
 ὅστις ἔθ' ἱμεύρων δράζεται ἐξόπιθεν.

showing by the splendor of body its perfection. He was very similar to Bacchus; his forehead shone with grace, and his cheeks, like a flower, glowed in youthful splendor, showing to the eyes a tender blush. He stood on a sphere, resting on the tips of his toes, with winged feet. His hair was not, however, fashioned after the usual manner, but the thick curls fell towards his brow over his cheek, while the occiput of *καιρός* was destitute of hair, showing only the beginning of hairy growth."

"And this it was which seemed admirable to us. But some one of those who are wise and skilled in art, and in the possession of a trained æsthetic sense, and capable of tracing out the hidden meaning of the artist, attributed design to the work, pointing out that the idea underlying *καιρός* was brought out in this statue. The winged feet indicate swiftness, because time swiftly elapses with the flight of hours; its shows the bloom of youth, because the youthful is ever attractive, and *καιρός* alone is the creator of beauty. On the other hand, what is withered, is foreign to the nature of *καιρός*; again (it has) the lock on the forehead, because it is easy to seize hold of the favorable moment as it approaches, but having passed by, the opportunity for decisive action is gone, and once neglected it is no longer possible to recover it."

τοῦνεχ' ὁ τεχνίτας σε διέπλασεν; εἵνεκεν ὕμέων
ξείνε, καὶ ἐν προθύροις θῆκε διδασκαλίην.¹

In addition to the information given us by Callistratus, we learn here that the statue held a razor in its right hand, which was intended to indicate the quickness and precision with which opportunity is lost, if it is not seized.

The next place in classic literature where reference seems to be made to this statue of Lysippus is in the Latin fables of Phaedrus, bk. v, no. 8. The little poem is entitled

Tempus.

Cursu volucris, pendens in novacula
Calvus, comosa fronte, nudo occipitio
(Quem si occuparis, teneas, elapsum semel
Non ipse possit Juppiter reprehendere)
Occasionem rerum significat brevem.
Effectus impediret ne segnis mora
Finxere antiqui talem effigiem Temporis.

Gail, in his edition of Phaedrus, Paris, 1826, vol. ii, p. 267, maintains that the reference here is not to the statue of Lysippus. The difficulty lies in the interpretation of the words “in novacula pendens,” which must mean “standing on a razor.” This opinion is evidently followed by Siebelis in his edition of the same text, Leipzig, 1874, for he translates “eine geflügelten Laufes auf einem Scheermesser schwebende Gestalt mit kahlem Scheitel.” Both editors refer the origin of this new position of

¹ “Who, whence is thy maker? Sicyon. His name is what? Lysippus. What art thou? Kairos, the all-subduer. Why doest thou stand on the tips of thy toes? I turn forever. Why hast thou double wings on either foot? I fly carried by the wind. In thy right hand why carriest thou a razor? To men a sign that quicker than any edge I am. But thy hair, why is it over the eye? In order to be grasped, forsooth, by him that meets me. The back of thy head, why is it bald? Because he, whom I have once rushed by with winged feet, will never grasp me afterwards, though he desire it. Why did the artist fashion thee? For thy sake, o stranger, he placed this warning lesson into the doorway.”

the figure to the Greek expression ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς,¹ which occurs as early as *Iliad* x, 173, and had become a proverbial expression, so that it is not unfrequently found in later Greek literature. Sophocles, *Antigone* 996, has carried the figurative meaning of the expression even further, when he uses the phrase “ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τύχης βεβηκέναι.” Gail surmised that the statue of Lysippus must often have been imitated, and that some later artist placed the razor which the original figure held in the right hand, under its feet, in place of the sphere. He thinks further that the writer of the little poem in question must have had before him such a figure as he described, either in the shape of a statue or cut into a seal. However this may be, I think for the present purpose these points may without danger be disregarded. The important point, in my opinion, is the fact that here we have in Latin literature a description of a figure, bald behind, with hair streaming over the forehead, which represents “brevem Occasionem rerum.” A further interesting point to note is the evident confusion which already existed between the two words *Tempus* and *occasio* in this special signification. That the confusion did not arise at this time is evident from the following passage from Cicero’s *De Inv.*, i, chap. 27, quoted by Gail, l. c., where we read “occasio est pars temporis, habens in se alicujus rei idoneam faciendi aut non faciendi opportunitatem, quare cum tempore hoc differt; nam genere quidem utrumque idem esse intellegitur.” But in spite of the fact, thus made evident, that the allegory of Lysippus was known in Italy, still no idiomatic expression based upon it seems to have existed. The phrase *capere crines*, occurring in Plautus, *Most.*, i, 3, 69, and cited in Freund, s. v. *crinis*, has reference to a part of the Roman marriage ceremony; and other expressions such as

¹ An illustration, reproduced by Baumeister, l. c. p. 771, shows a reproduction of a relief in Torino. It is said to belong to late Roman times, but is apparently a true illustration of this ancient Greek idiom. The figure is bald, with long hair in front, wings on the shoulders and feet, and holding a scale which rests on the edge of a razor.

occasionem capere, Plaut. *Pseud.* IV, 3, 5, are non-committal as to their origin.

The next writer who gives evidence of knowing the allegory is the epigrammatist Ausonius. No. XII of the epigrams of this author, in an edition published in London, 1823, reads as follows :

In simulacrum Occasionis et Poenitentiae.

Cujus opus ? Phidiae : qui signum Pallados, ejus
 Quique Jovem fecit, tertia palma ego sum.
 Sum Dea, quae rara, et paucis Occasio nota.
 Quid rotulae insistis ? Stare loco nequeo.
 Quid talaria habes ? Volucris sum. Mercurius quae
 Fortunare solet, tardo (*v. l. trado*) ego, cum volui.
 Crine tegis faciem ? Cognosci nolo. Sed heus tu
 Occipiti calvo es. Ne tenear fugiens.
 Quae tibi juncta comes ? Dicat tibi. Dic, rogo, quae sis.
 Sum Dea, cui nomen nec Cicero ipse dedit.
 Sum Dea, quae facti, non factique exigo poenas,
 Nempe ut poeniteat : sic Metanoea vocor.
 Tu modo dic, quid agat tecum. Si quando volavi,
 Haec manet : hanc retinent, quos ego praeterii.
 Tu quoque, dum rogitas, dum percontando moraris,
 Elapsum dices me tibi de manibus.

The literary model of Ausonius we have far to seek. The dialogue style of this epigram points at once to the poem of Posidippus. But with the many points of contact that exist between the two epigrams, there are found also some marked points of difference. The artist's name is given as Phidias, and the figure of Occasio is here for the first time accompanied by another, called Poenitentia. It is difficult to decide whether the substitution by Ausonius of the name of Phidias for that of Lysippus is a willful one, as the editor of the epigrams supposes, or whether a link in the chain of transmission has been lost. The whole description of Ausonius has about it such an air of reality that it is difficult to believe that he refers directly to the statue described by Posidippus. Inasmuch as the facts in the case are lost, the field is open for

theories, and I offer the following as a solution of the difficulty. In the epigram of Posidippus there occurs the phrase

τὸν γὰρ ἄπαξ πτηνοῖσι παραθρέξαντά με ποσσὶν
οὗτις ἔθ' ἱμείρων δράζεται ἐξόπιθεν

and then follows an unmistakable invitation to muse over the allegory. That the statue of Lysippus was a famous one is evident from the different descriptions that were devoted to it, and that it was imitated may be supposed a priori and is proved by the description of Phaedrus. The supposition that Ausonius had before him, when he wrote, some other sculptured version of the allegory would, therefore, seem to be not at all improbable. He did not know this artist's name, but he did know that it was not Lysippus, whose statue and name he must certainly at least have known through the epigram of Posidippus, from whom he borrowed the style of his own poem. He called him Phidias, the Greek sculptor par excellence. The unknown artist, who was a Roman, introduced several changes. In the first place he had translated the Greek *καιρός* (masc.) into its Latin equivalent *occasio* (fem.). Lysippus' god became a goddess.¹ Phaedrus' model retained the original gender of the Greek, and he called the figure Tempus. In the second place, he had developed the idea contained in the two lines of Posidippus' epigram just quoted, and placed a second figure called Poenitentia beside the first. Such a grouping together of two gods is not at all unfrequent

¹ The other plate in Baumeister's article, quoted above, is almost exactly an illustration of the epigram of Ausonius. It shows the figure of *καιρός*, no longer nude, with a winged wheel on each foot, holding a scale in the left and a razor in the right hand. A youth before him has seized his forelock, while an old man behind him, who has let the favorable moment pass by, stretches his left hand out in vain. With the right he angrily pulls his beard. Behind the latter stands a draped figure, representing Poenitentia. The illustration is a reproduction of a relief in Venice, but unfortunately no clue as to its age is given.

It should be added, also, that the fact of Ausonius retaining the Greek term *Metanoea* in a curious manner counterbalances his translation of *καιρός* by *occasio*.

in Roman iconology, and quite to the point I find it stated in Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen and römischen Mythologie*, s. v. Fortuna, that Fortuna and Mercurius are found together in many pictures, a point to which I shall recur presently for another reason. In this way, it seems to me, the epigram of Ausonius is explained, without doing violence to the facts as we know them.¹

The general resemblance between the episode in the *Orlando Innamorato* and the epigram of Ausonius is so marked that it is evident that Bojardo made use of it as his main source for his description of the Fata Morgana. The most conclusive proof lies in the fact that in both instances the figure of fleet-ing Chance is accompanied by that of Poenitentia. This agreement is so striking and unexpected that there scarcely remains room for doubt, and it becomes evident that Bojardo

¹ For the sake of completeness I add here another Greek description of the statue of Lysippus, contained in an eclogue of Himerius, a contemporary of Ausonius. The account agrees in the main with those of Callistratus and Posidippus, with this difference, that the figure is said to hold a scale in the left hand. The eclogue is published in the same volume with the description by Callistratus.

Δεινὸς δὲ ἦν ἄρα οὐ χεῖρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην ὁ Λυσίππος. θεία γοῦν ἐκεῖνος διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης τετόλμηκεν. ἐγγράφει τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν καιρὸν καὶ μορφώσας ἀγάλματι τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς εἰκότος ἐξηγήσατο. Ἐχει δὲ ὠδέ πως, ὥς ἐμὲ μνημονεύειν, τὸ δαίδαλμα. Ποιεῖ παῖδα τὸ εἶδος ἄβρυν, τὴν ἀκμὴν ἔφηβον, κομῶντα μὲν τὸ ἐκ κροτάφων εἰς μέτωπον, γυμνὸν δὲ τὸ ὕσον ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα μερίζεται· σιδήρῳ τὴν δεξιὰν ὀπισθισμένον, ζυγῶ τὴν λαίαν ἐπέχοντα, πτερῶν τὰ σφυρὰ, οὐχ ὥς μετάρσιον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἄνω κουφίεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἵνα δοκῶν ἐπιψαύειν τῆς γῆς, λανθάνῃ κλέπτων τὸ μὴ κατὰ γῆς ἐπερείδεσθαι.

“For Lysippus had not only a skilled hand, but also skilled judgment. Wonderful things did he by reason of this genius venture upon; he added *καιρός* to the list of gods, and by changing images has brought out his nature in a statue. The statue was wrought in this manner as I relate. He fashions a boy, delicate in appearance, in the bloom of youth, with locks of hair from the top to the forehead, but bald behind. In his right hand he was armed with a razor, holding in his left a scale, winged upon a sphere poising lightly, so that he did not rise too far above the earth, seemingly touching it, and yet gliding over it without contact.”

Still more information on this question may be found in Curtius, *Archæologische Zeitung*, 1875, pp. 1-8, and Benndorf, *ibid.*, 1863, p. 81 ff.

has done here what he has done in so many other instances in his poem. He has taken a classic theme and *brettonized* it, if I may use the term. The whole atmosphere and setting of the new scene is so Arthurian that the first impulse in looking for its sources is to turn for information to the Round Table romances, rather than to a dictionary of classical antiquities.

Morgana (Fr. *Morgain*) in the Arthurian romances, as is well known, is a fairy and sister of King Arthur. She is a disciple of the enchanter Merlin, and well versed, therefore, in all kinds of magic arts as well as deceit, as Tristan learns in the end to his sorrow. Arthur had even forbidden her presence at his court, and so she lived in different enchanted castles of her making. She was a constant source of trouble to Arthur's knights; but there is, as far as the things told of her in the French romances are concerned, no reason why Bojardo should have selected this name rather than that of the Dama del Lago. There is only one tantalizing allusion in the French prose versions of Tristan, which I will relate without further comment. A knight by the name of Giflet (the name is of no consequence) arrives before a castle which is full of enchantments, and he is hindered from entering into it by the figure of a knight, "de coivre fait por (r. par) grant soutiliee." Morgain, we are told, is the author of the enchantments in the castle, and she established them "au tens que Tristanz de Loenoys se mist en queste por li trover."¹ Upon reading the description of this metal knight, one cannot help thinking of the two iron figures that hinder Orlando's entrance to the garden of the Fata.

It would seem to me, however, that a reason can be discovered for Bojardo's choice of name. The Breton cycle as a whole had gained but little foothold among the people in Italy; but nevertheless a few of its figures had entered the realm of

¹Cp. Löseth, *Le Roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 223. The painstaking author of this laborious work adds as a foot-note to this passage, "nous n'avons trouvé aucune trace de cette quête."

popular tradition, and even begun to show new signs of independent growth. Of this class of stories is the miraculous disappearance of Arthur. The French traditions related that Arthur had been transported by Morgain to the island of Avalon, whence he would return in due season. This legend had been carried to Sicily by the Normans, and here the interior of Mount Aetna became the abode of both Arthur and Morgain. Graf, who reports the earliest forms of this legend in Sicily, in the *Giorn. Stor.* vol. v, p. 80 ff., shows further, how here this hiding place of the fay is embellished with regard to its scenery. All the attractive features of the isle of Avalon are ascribed to the interior of Mount Aetna. Moreover, the popular mind, once made acquainted with the supernatural powers of the fairy, soon attributed to her authorship that curious optical phenomenon known as the *mirage*, and called it the *Fata Morgana*. And this term, I think, may have suggested the name to Bojardo. I bring this explanation forward without claiming in its favor more than a high degree of probability. It is impossible to say how far back the name *Fata Morgana* dates as a term for the mirage (Graf, l. c. p. 98, quotes a passage showing that it was so used in the xviiith century), but it bears so popular an aspect that we shall certainly not be far from right if we believe that its origin dates back to the establishment of the tradition which placed both Arthur and Morgain into the Aetna, and this legend is firmly fixed in Sicily by the end of the xiiith century.¹ The official journeys of Bojardo took him into Southern Italy (he was in Naples in the year 1473), and he may well have observed the phenomenon in the sky, and become familiar with its popular name.

There is still another line of thought which connects this episode with the Breton epic, and which, therefore, seems worthy of mention. The central idea of it is that of the favorable moment which is not utilized, and which must now be sought

¹ Cp. Graf, l. c.

with much expenditure of force and penitence. This, after all, looked at from one point of view, is a prominent theme in the quest of the Holy Grail. There the Knight arrives, at nightfall, at a castle, where he sees sights that rouse his curiosity, such as the wondrous sword, the bleeding lance, and the Grail, for which he ought to demand an explanation. He neglects to do this, and when he wakes up the next morning he finds the castle deserted, and his quest begins. In this instance as well, absolute proof for the association of the two ideas can not be advanced, but, considering the fact that so much of Bojardo's poem is created by brettonizing ideas taken from the Carlovingian cycle and from classical antiquity, it is after all very possible that there exists a closer connection between the two ideas than is apparent at first sight.

There can be no question, however, as to the connection between Bojardo's episode and the Italian idiom *tener la fortuna pel ciuffetto*; but whether the passage in Bojardo gave rise to the idiom, or vice versa, is not so easily decided. Both words *ciuffo* and *ciuffetto* are quite old in Italian. *Ciuffo* is found in Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo* (composed between 1348 and 1367) and *ciuffo* occurs in Dante, *Inf.*, 28-33, Boccaccio and the *Pataffio*, which has been wrongly ascribed to Ser Brunetto Latini. The question now arises whether the verbal locution *tenere pel ciuffetto*, with the meaning *to have the mastery over*, is connected with our idiom. I am inclined to think that this is not the case. Ducange, s. v. *capillus*, mentions the expression *trahere per capillos*, and says that it is described in Saxon laws as a grave insult. In a law of 1211 and 1247 it is given as punishable with death.¹ In Italian I have met the expression in Pulci's *Morg. Magg.*, VII-89, *L'angel di Dio vi tenga pel ciuffetto* and *Cirif. Calvan.* 2-64, *avere il leon pel ciuffetto*.

¹ I am undecided how much importance is to be attached to the fact that *ciuffo*, a word of Germanic origin, and not the Latin words, has been incorporated into the idiom.

The earliest instance of the longer idiom under consideration I have found noted in the *Vocabulario Universale Italiano compilato a cura della società tipografica*, Napoli, 1829, s. v. ciuffo, ascribed to Poliziano, Stanze 6.

Piglia il tempo che fugge pel ciuffetto
Prima che nasca qualche gran sospetto.

Unfortunately this reference has proved to be a veritable Fata Morgana in itself, for the most diligent efforts to verify it have proven useless, so that the inevitable conclusion seems to be that a typographical error has crept in. What adds to the dissatisfaction in this instance is the fact that other evidence also points to the conclusion that to the learned Poliziano is due the revival of the classical ideas which we have reviewed. In his *Liber Adagiorum* (Opera II, p. 289), Erasmus has a rather lengthy disquisition on the expression *nosce tempus*. Without mentioning names, he describes the statue of Lysippus, translating, however, continually the Greek *καιρός* by Latin *tempus*. He then goes on to say: "Ejus simulachrum ad hunc modum fingeat antiquitas. Volubilis rotae pennatis insistens pedibus, vertigine quam citatissima semet in orbem circumagit, priore capitis parte capillis hirsuta, posteriore glabra, ut illa facile prehendi queat, hac nequaquam. Unde dictum est 'occasionem arripere.' Ad quod erudite simul et eleganter allusit quisquis¹ is fuit, qui versiculum hunc conscripsit

"Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva."

Then he gives in full the epigram of Posidippus, and a translation of it into Latin distichs. Finally he continues, "Non ab re fuerit et Ausonianum epigramma subscribere, quod ut admonet Politianus e Graeco videtur effectum quenquam cum aliis nonnullis diversum, tum illo potissimum nomine, quod

¹ It would be interesting if it were possible to answer this question of Erasmus.

hic additur poenitentia comes." Then follows the epigram of Ausonius.

The absence of a complete set of the works of Poliziano from Baltimore makes verification in this case also an impossibility. But in spite of this defect, the evidence, it seems to me, is convincing. Through the influence of the great Poliziano the whole line of tradition which we have reviewed, and which found its climax in Ausonius, was made again the common property of the learned. In this way Bojardo's attention was directed to the allegory, and he was not slow in making use of it by adapting to his own needs not only the figure of Occasio, but also its companion Poenitentia. That Bojardo knew the works of Poliziano needs no proof, but I think direct indebtedness on his part can be shown. In Poliziano's *Orfeo* (1474), act i, there occurs the line

"Ella (Euridice) fugge da me sempre davante."

Though applied here to Euridice, there is great temptation to see some hidden reference to the allegory of the lost opportunity. However, this consideration is of minor weight. What is important in my opinion is the fact that Bojardo in the *Innamorato*, ii-ix, 3-c, uses almost identically the same words

"La fata sempre fugge a lui davante."

This coincidence is certainly too close to be accidental.

When the allegory had thus been revived in literature, it was soon made use of in other ways. The famous Milanese engraver, Andrea Alciato, published at various times different collections of emblems. A complete collection of all of these in Latin was published in Lyons in 1551, under the title *Andreae Alciati Emblematum Flumen abundans*, and of this edition the Holbein society has given us a fac-simile reprint (1871). On p. 133 of this modern edition can be found an emblem entitled *In Occasionem*. The cut represents the nude figure of a woman, with a long shawl thrown over her

shoulders, which she holds in her left hand while it flutters in the wind on the right. She stands on a wheel which rests horizontally on the water. On her feet, above her heels, are wings; the left foot is somewhat raised. In the right hand she holds a razor. Her long hair is fluttering in the wind and appears to be all in front. Below this figure stands the following explanation, which is evidently a paraphrase of the epigram of Posidippus :

In Occasionem.

Διαλογιστικῶς.

Lysippi hoc opus est, Sycion cui patria. Tu quis?
Cuncta domans capti temporis articulus.
Cur pinnis stas? usque rotor. Talaria plantis
Cur retines? Passim me levis aura rapit.
In dextra est tenuis dic unde novacula? Acutum
Omni acie hoc signum me magis esse docet.
Cur in fronte coma? Occurens ut prender. At heus tu
Dic cur pars calva est posterior capitis?
Ne semel alipedem si quis permittat abire,
Ne possim apprehenso postmodo crine capi
Tali opifex nos arte, tui causa, edidit hospes
Utque omnes moneam; pergula aperta tenet.

Of these emblems the first collection seems to have been made in Milan in 1522, but the earliest partial edition appeared in Augsburg in 1531. Of this last mentioned edition, as well as of three others of similar nature, reprints have been published by the Holbein society (1870) under the title *Andreae Emblematum Fontes Quattuor*. From this reprint it is seen that the emblem *In Occasionem* was contained also in the Augsburg edition of 1531. The cuts in both instances are in general identical. In the earlier drawing, however, the wings on the feet seem to be absent, and the shawl is arranged so as to cover the pudenda. The figure also seems to rest on a rock, surrounded by water, in place of the horizontal wheel. But the occiput is bald and the long hair in front is blown towards the

right. The distichs beneath the cut are identical with those in the later editions.

Alciato's collection of emblems must have enjoyed a high degree of favor. The first complete Latin edition was published in 1548, and there followed a French translation in 1549, and Italian and Spanish translations in 1551. There were published besides a large number of partial editions, and all of these must have contributed greatly to make the allegory generally known. But even earlier our allegory had given rise to the Italian idiom, and we find it occurring under two forms, viz. *pigliare il tempo pel ciuffetto*, as in Poliziano, and *pigliare (tenere) la fortuna pel ciuffetto (ciuffo)* as in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, xxx-35.

Ma se fortuna le spalle vi volta
(Che non però nel crin presa tenete)
Causate un danno ch'a pensarvi solo
Mi sento il petto già sparar di duolo.

and this latter is also the turn which the allegory has received in the modern language.¹ What is interesting here is the substitution of *Fortuna* or *Tempo* for the figure of *Occasio*. All three denominations, when referring to the favorable moment, are naturally so closely allied that a confusion as to their usage is not at all surprising. Nevertheless it can easily be shown that the confusion did not become fixed as an idiom before the time of Poliziano and the revival of this allegory. The two figures of *Fortuna* and *Occasio* were never confused in classical times.

¹ In Ferrazzi, *Bibliografia Ariostesca*, Bassano, 1881, p. 131, I find the following lines quoted from the Satires, vii-181.

Mentre Differendo
Vo l'occasione fugge sdegnata
Poi che mi porge il crine ed io nol prendo.

Here the tone of the idiom, as is seen, is still quite in accordance with the original classical notion.

Fortuna¹ was usually represented by a female figure, standing upright, and holding a cornucopia in the left and a rudder in the right hand. The rudder often rested on a sphere, and this sphere is either the symbol of her changeability, or is intended to portray her power over the whole earth. When the figure is seated, the natural inference is, that Fortuna has come to stay. Occasionally a wheel is found in the representations of this goddess, and references to this wheel of fortune can be found in Cicero,² *Dialogus* of Tacitus, Fronto, Ammianus Marcellinus,³ and the treatise *De Consolatione* of Boethius. In some instances Fortuna has wings, and sometimes the prow of a boat is shown in connection with the rudder, evidently referring to her as a goddess of the sea. She was worshipped in Rome under many different attributes, and there existed temples for some of these varieties and a public worship. Especially favorite was the *Fortuna redux*, and she is quite frequently represented in connection with a wheel. Roscher describes a coin having a picture of the *Fortuna dux*. The figure is seated, and holds the usual attributes of rudder and cornucopia. Under the stool is the representation of a wheel. The Fortuna worship seems to point to an Egyptian origin, and, according to Roscher, derives from the worship of the *Isis Fortuna* and the *Fortuna Panthea*. As Isis Fortuna she is pictured holding a cornucopia, rudder (often with the sphere) and the attributes of Isis, such as the Lotus flower, plumes, new moon, snake, sistrum, etc. The Fortuna Panthea has the symbols of other deities, such as wings, helmet, sheaf of wheat, etc. She was also frequently worshipped in connection with other deities, notably Mercurius. The two figures are found together in many representations, or Fortuna may be found alone with the symbols of Mercurius. This creates a strong temptation for the belief that even in the statue of Lysippus

¹ Cp. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, s. v.

² *Fortunae rotam pertimescebat.* *Pison*, 10, 22.

³ *Fortunae volucris rota, adversa prosperis semper alternans.* Ammian. Marc., 31-1-1.

the wings on the feet of *καῖρός* were suggested by those of Hermes.¹ However this may be, it is certain that these two deities were for a long time associated together. Even as late as the *Emblems* of Alciato we find such a representation, which was contained for the first time in an edition of 1541 in Venice. Hermes there appears to have four faces, and is standing on a square stone, with wings on his feet and the winged staff in his hand. Fortuna stands by his side on a sphere, and is almost identical with the figure representing Opportunity, in the emblem *In Occasionem*. The hair is blowing distinctly towards the right. This picture was considerably changed in the Lyons edition of 1551, but Fortuna and Hermes are still associated together. Here Fortuna is resting but one foot on the sphere, and her hair is blowing toward the left.

From the foregoing remarks there can remain no doubt that the wheel is not the regular attribute of Fortuna. It rather seems to belong to another idea, which is also closely related to those under discussion, viz., that of the *Fata scribunda*. This goddess is represented by a female figure, resting one foot on a vertical wheel, while she is writing the destiny of man on a wall towards which she is bending. What is evident, however, is the fact that even in classical antiquity the wheel was used to represent the uncertainty of human existence.

The middle ages retained this idea, but varied fundamentally the manner of representation. Fortuna is now represented by a female figure, seated on a stool before a wheel which she is turning. Usually different figures representing different types of humanity are tied to the wheel. Several illustrations in point may be found in Du Sommerard, *Les Arts au moyen age, Album*. Vol. VI, series 4, plates 37, 38, 39, 40 show large

¹ Baumeister, l. c., says the idea of *καῖρός* goes back to the palaestra, and sprang from the Hermes *ἐναγώνιος*, beside whom he had an altar in Olympia. Presence of mind and the necessity of grasping the favorable moment in the martial game are eminently necessary, and this god is therefore often mentioned in Pindar's *Odes*. Baumeister's hypothesis is in a manner confirmed by the phrase of Himerius *μορφώσας ἀγάλματα* quoted above.

illuminated figures representing Fortuna and her wheel. In all of them she is a young woman seated beside a wheel on which are human figures. She wears long hair and a crown. Vol. VI, series 6, plate 30, taken from a manuscript of the end of the xvth century of Boethius, *De Consolatione*, shows a figure of Fortuna with two faces and the eyes of both blind-folded. This new element evidently denotes favorable and adverse fortune. The figure has green wings besides. Agreeing with the illustrations first mentioned is a large plate in vol. II of *Les Arts somptuaires*, Paris, 1858. It is taken from a MS. of the xvith century, contained in the Arsenal Library in Paris.

As far as literature is concerned, all allusions before Poliziano and Bojardo are usually to this manner of representation. Dante's description of the goddess Fortuna, who rules supreme over her celestial circle and who

Con l'altre prime creature lieta
 Volve sua spera, e beata si gode (*Inf.*, vii, 95-96),

is well known. Similar references are found elsewhere and it is not necessary to multiply examples. Pulci in his *Morgante Maggiore* makes at least seven¹ references to this idea, and of these one merits transcription because it agrees so closely with Dante's conception.

Lascia pur volger le volubil rote
 A quella che nel ciel tutto ha veduto. (xxii-38.)

Bojardo, also, has evidently not forgotten the older notion, for *Orl. Inn.* i-xvi, 1, he says :

Tutte le cose sotto de la Luna
 L'alta ricchezza, e' regni de la terra,
 Son sottoposti a voglia di Fortuna ;
 Lei la porta apre d'improvviso e serra ;
 E quando più par bianca, divien bruna :

¹ *Morg. Mag.*, ii-49, xvii-2, xxii-38, xxv-275, xxvi-38, and x-70, xxiii-54.

Ma più si mostra ai casi de la guerra
 Instabil, *volutante* e rovinosa,
 E più fallace che alcun altra cosa.

Whether he had already in mind our episode, which was to follow some twenty-one cantos later, is a question; but certainly Fortuna's wheel is but vaguely alluded to by the word *volutante*. It would seem as though we had even here a confusion of the two ideas.

It is evident, however, from later occurrences in literature, that the confusion became absolute, so much so that the older notion of the favorable occasion was completely lost sight of; and this confusion has also left its traces in art. In the *Mirror of Maiestie* (1618), of which we have a fac-simile reprint by the Holbein Society (1870), there may be found a similar reproduction of a work entitled *Selectorum Symbolorum Heroicorum centuria Gemina enotata atque enodata a Salomone Neigebauero* a Cadano, 1619. Plate 23 of this last-mentioned work contains the emblem of Fridericus Daniae Norvegiae Seland. Gothor. Rex. It shows a Fortuna standing on a sphere, and this figure is in every respect identical with those drawn by Alciato to represent the favorable Occasion.¹

In a similar manner the two notions of *Time* and *Occasion* were confused, and substituted one for the other. Here the interchange is much older. I have already pointed out the fact that *tempus* evidently paraphrases the Greek *καῖρός* in the epigram from Phaedrus, and have also quoted Cicero's remark with regard to the confusion of the two terms. It has also been shown that Erasmus translates *καῖρός* by *tempus*. Since early in the middle ages the two notions of *Time* and *Death* were also merged in one, one is tempted to look for further evidences of a confusion with the notion of the favorable occasion in the pictorial representations of the time. It is certain that some of the illustrations which I have examined show a

¹ The inscription of the emblem is "Fedeltà è cosa rara," and below stands the explanation "*Fortuna* in pila volubili stans et velum vibrans"

figure of Time or Death with a distinct lock of hair on one side of the head.¹ However, I do not believe that such instances prove much, one way or the other. The general appearance of Time or Death in these pictures, with regard to the hair, is that of the living species, and I am inclined to think that the substitution was purely literary and due to a confusion of terms.

The conclusions which, I think, have been established may now be briefly restated. The revival of the allegory of Lysippus, which seems to have been completely forgotten after Ausonius, was due to Poliziano. Through him Bojardo became acquainted with the epigram of Ausonius, and he bretteonized the idea in his episode of the chase of the Fata Morgana by Orlando. The formulating of the idea into an idiom seems also to be due to Poliziano. The oldest instances employ the words *tempo* and *occasione*; later Fortuna supplants almost entirely these older words.

The remaining part of this paper is to be concerned with tracing this expression into English. After having found an occurrence of it in Spenser's *Sonnet* 70 (written after 1593),

Tell her the joyous time will not be staid,
Unless she do him by the forelock take,

I found that the aid to be expected from the existing dictionaries was exhausted. I then turned for help to the learned editor of the *Oxford Dictionary*, Dr. Murray, who with great courtesy and kindness placed at my disposal those references to this expression which he possessed. Through this welcome help I learned that there is but one earlier instance of it to be

¹ This can be seen in the following instances: Humphreys, *Masterpieces of early printers and engravers*, London, 1870; plate 20 of a dance of death, printed in Lyons, 1499, and also in several of the illustrations of Savonarola's "*Arte del bene morire*," reproduced in the same volume; also Langlois and Pottier, *Danses des Morts*, Rouen, 1852, p. 159 and plates xvi and xviii of Holbein's *Dance of Death*, in the same volume.

found in English, and this in Greene's *Menaphon*,¹ written in the year 1589, viz: "Pesana, thinking to make hay while the Sunne shined, and take opportunitie by his forelocks." Besides adding a list of later occurrences, to which I shall refer later, Dr. Murray was kind enough to say, "we have no earlier instances of Forelock in any sense." To Greene, then, the introduction of the idiom into English literature must be ascribed; and his general tastes and predilections make the supposition very plausible that he derived the expression from his acquaintance with Italian literature. Before the year 1592 he had written a comedy entitled *Orlando Furioso*, which was published in 1594, and where he quotes several lines from Ariosto's poem in the Italian original; cp. ed., London, 1831, p. 28. This fact would seem sufficient evidence to prove that the English idiom is a translation of the Italian. As far as Spenser is concerned, the Italian influence on his writings is also too well-known to need further proof, and the great importance of Italian influence on the English literature of this period is also well established. The first English translation of Ariosto appeared in 1591, by John Harrington. But in spite of these and many other proofs for the literary importation of our idiom, I am not entirely free from doubts. In the *Orlando Furioso* the expression, to my knowledge, occurs but once, and there the reference is to Fortuna, not to Time or Occasion. Whether Bojardo's poem was translated earlier, I am unable to say, though nothing would be gained even if such a translation could be found, for Greene certainly understood Italian thoroughly and might have read the poem in the original. However this may have been, the whole allegory contained in the expression must certainly have been known in England at least eighty years earlier. Erasmus was in Italy between the years 1506 and 1509, and during this stay he supervised an edition of his *Adagia* in Venice at the Aldine press. Then he went to England and occupied the position

¹ Ed. Arber, London, 1880, p. 65.

of Regius Reader of Greek in Cambridge from 1509 to 1513. It is but natural to suppose that with Erasmus his works became known in England, and in these *Adagia* we have found all the principal links in the history of our allegory, besides a reference to Poliziano's remarks on the epigram of Ausonius. With the name of Poliziano, moreover, the possibility arises that a knowledge at least of the classical side of the allegory should have reached England even before the arrival of Erasmus, for Linacre and Grocyn were pupils of Poliziano. If these suppositions are valid we have also at once an explanation of the fact that in the English expressions it is Time or Opportunity whose forelocks must be grasped, and not Fortuna. Erasmus speaks only of *tempus* and Poliziano of *tempo* and *occasione*. So we find the expression in Bacon's *Essay on Delays*, publ. Arber, p. 525, "for occasion (as it is in the common verse¹) turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in Front and no hold taken." (1625). Crosse, *Vertues Commonwealth*, p. 131 (publ. 1878), wrote in 1603 "Time flyeth away with wings, and therefore a wise man lay holde on her forelocks, while it is to-day." Later references, which might be added, would scarcely strengthen the argument.

At the same time the common middle age notion of Fortuna and her wheel was well known in England. Greene in his *Tritameron of Love* (1587), publ. in his works, vol. III, p. 133, in the Huth library, has a long passage to the point here which merits transcription, not for itself, but because it also points directly to Italy as its source.

"Because you talke of painting (quoth the lady Panthia) I remember that in the Duke of Florence chamber, I once saw a table whereon was pourtrayed the picture or counterfeit of Fortune, as neare as I can gesse in this manner. Winged she was, and standing vpon a globe, as decyphering her mutabilitie: holding in her right hand the Cornucopia or horn of aboundance, which the poets faine to be full of all such heav-

¹ Could this be a reference to Erasmus' hexameter, quoted above?

enly and earthlie things as are exquisite and pretious : these she poureth out liberally, when, to whom, and where she pleaseth. In the left hande a wheele, which she tourneth about continually, whereby that part which is aboue, is presently turned downeward, thereby giuing vs to understand, that from her highest preferment she throweth downe in one instant such as are most happie into the gulfe of miserie : underneath this picture were written certain verses, thus englished

The fickle seat whereon proud Fortune sits,
the restless globe whereon the furie stands,
Bewraies her fond and farre inconstant fits,
the fruitful horn she handleth in her hands,
Bids all beware to feare her flattering smiles,
that giueth most when most she meaneth guiles.
The wheele that turning neuer taketh rest,
the top whereof fond worldlings count their blisse,
Within a minute makes a blacke exchaunge :
and them the vild and lowest better is :
Which embleme tels vs the inconstant state,
of such as trust to Fortune or to Fate."

It would be exceedingly interesting to know the Italian original of these verses.

We have reached the end of our inquiry. Although certain points remain doubtful, still I think the main questions at issue have been cleared up. There is left the question of the originality or sources of Lysippus. But I have already gone so far out of my beaten track that I may well leave the solution of this matter to others, whose lines of work have made them more familiar with that remote period of antiquity. However, the general inquiry was directly connected with the history of the *Romanzo Cavalleresco* in Italy, and if other questions have been left unanswered I can give no better excuse than that by which Rusticiano da Pisa, in 1272, excused the lack of order and completeness in his compilation of the *Round Table Romances* : ". . . je respons que ma matière n'ettoit pas congneue. Car je ne puis pas savoir tout ne mettre toutes mes paroles par ordre.

JOHN E. MATZKE.